1: Burrows--172 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 776, 769 Ifalik

"Ghosts of the dead (ngolu) constitute a special class of alus. They are among the most prominent in native belief and, though some are benevolent, among the most feared. Whether they are good or evil depends upon their character while in the flesh. A good (kindly) human being will become a good alus, while an evil (malicious) human being, even one who dies in childhood, will be an evil ghost. They are thought to linger about the places they inhabited before death, and to retain something of their former appearance. In general, ghosts of the recent dead seem to be most prominent in the native mind. Ghosts when seen - which happens not infrequently - are often recognized.

Ancestral ghosts whose lifetime may have been in the remote past are also influential. They are associated with homesteads inhabited by their descendants in the female line. Every homestead, as a rule, has one or more such ancestral ghosts. They are commonly helpful to their descendants, yet may do the kind of damage most frequently attributed to supernatural beings, that of inflicting disease. The sickness that took the life of the chief Paliuilimar while we were on the island was attributed to an alus associated with his ancestral homestead. Its particularly deadly character may have been due, though, to a strain other than ancestral; for Gargeligar said after his diagnosis that this was 'partly a sea-spirit'."

1: Burrows--172 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 776 Ifalik

"The mystery which seems to cover the creation in the minds of the present inhabitants of Ifalik does not extend to the supernatural beings and places which, according to their belief, still exist. The general name for a supernatural being is alus. They are classified in several ways. According to where they live, they include alus lang or alus i lang, who live in the sky; alus tat or alus i tat, who live in the sea; alus salop or alus i salop, who live on land; and alus liol, or alus i li wol, who live in the trees. According to their behavior toward men, they are classed as alus mwan, good or beneficent gods, and alus ngau, bad or maleficent gods. There is some correlation between habitat and character of the gods; that is to say, gods of the sea are generally bad, and are among the most dreaded of all. Gods of the trees are also generally maleficent, but the harm they do (the commonest kind, that of inflicting disease) is in punishment for what we would call asocial conduct - disobeying the chiefs or lingering in the woods to shirk communal labor. Gods of the sky may be either good or bad, but among the sky-dwellers are the great beneficent gods.

Gods are of either sex. Gargeligar told Spiro that female gods are worse than male ones. Most of the important beneficent ones, including all the gods of navigation, are male."

"Fig. 22. - GENEALOGY OF THE GREAT GODS

Names in parentheses and relationships shown by dotted lines were not recorded in 1947-8, but only by the German expedition of 1909. Capitalized names were recorded by both German and American expeditions. Names without parentheses or capitalization were recorded only by the American ethnographers in 1947-8. Names of female beings are underlined.

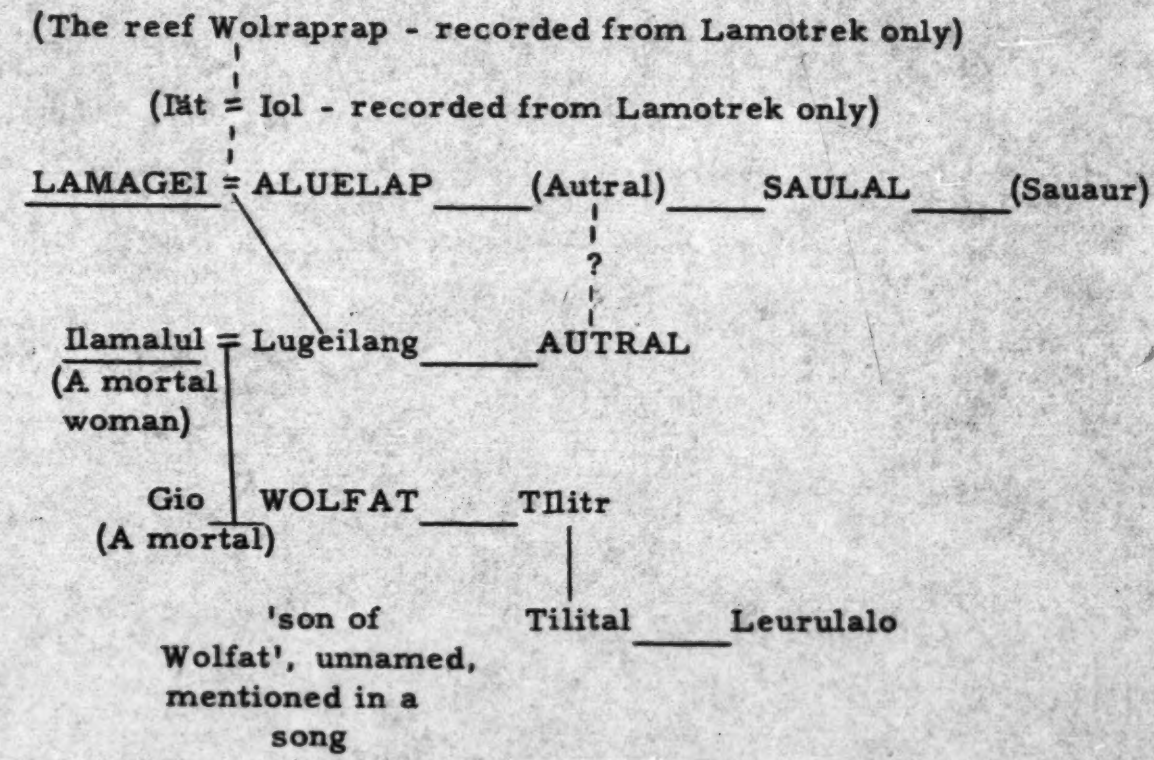
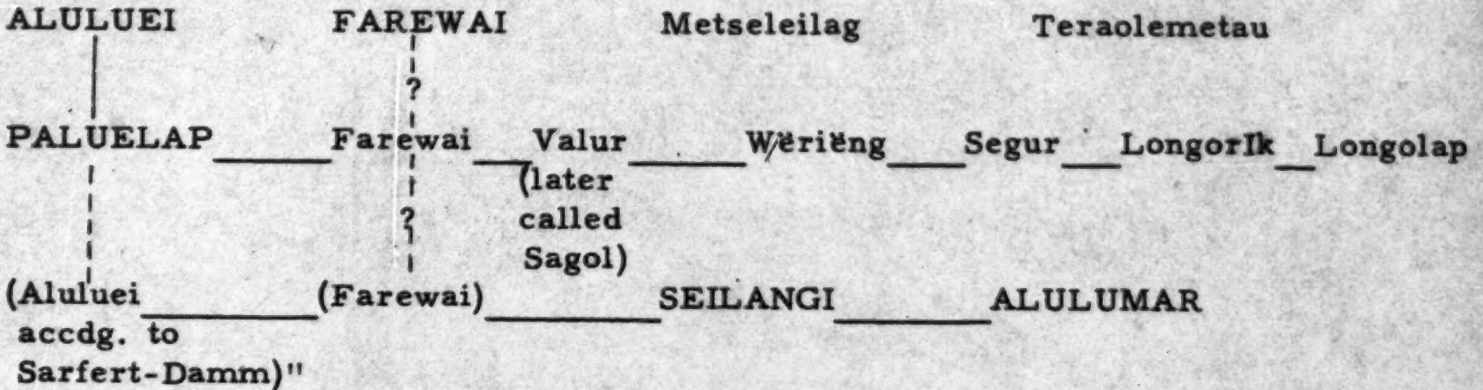

(The reef Wolraprap - recorded from Lamotrek only)
(Iät = Iol - recorded from Lamotrek only)
LAMAGEI = ALUELAP (Autral) SAULAL (Sauaur)
?
Ilamalul = Lugeilang AUTRAL
(A mortal woman)
Gio WOLFAT Tlitr
(A mortal)
'son of Wolfat', unnamed, mentioned in a song
Tilital Leurulalo

Fig. 23. - GENEALOGY OF THE GODS OF NAVIGATION

Parentheses and capitals are used as in Fig. 22. No names are underlined, as there are no females in this genealogy.



1: Burrows--173-179 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-14
116, 776, 173 Ifalik

"A list of the supernatural beings whose names were collected, with a summary of what is known about them, follows:

Major Gods

Aluelap - Forefather of the major gods. Human in form, but of immense size. Lives usually in his house Fatremal, in the southern sky (Sarfert-Damm say in the zenith). Has another house, Langilimware, in the northern sky. A third house of his, Mwauliare, is mentioned in a dance-song said to have come from Eaurupik. On Ifalik, the homestead Weluara on Falālap is said to be his (though also used as a human dwelling); and one of the four rods in the shrine at one end of the house is the place where offerings are left for him.

Aluelap established the tabus, except those governing sexual conduct (see Autran, below). Though he alone is omniscient, he sleeps most of the time. Formerly his eyes were always closed. His daughter-in-law Lamanu used to massage his arms and bathe him.

One day he asked her, 'Who are you?'

'Lamanu.'

'Alas, I cān not see you!'

Aluelap was determined to see. He called to his son, Lugeilang, 'Come, open my eyes, that I may see your wife, and the land, and the people!'

Lugeilang told the people what his father wished.

They cut down a coconut tree and, using the log for a lever, pried [174] Aluelap's eyelids apart. Still he could not see, for all sorts of foreign objects had lodged in his eyes. At last a man took a paddle and knocked them all out.

Aluelap was overjoyed. 'Oh, I see land! I see people!'

When Aluelap had gazed his fill, he went to sleep again. To this day, he sleeps most of the time. Yet, being omniscient he knows when any evil spirit comes ashore on Ifalik. Then he sends a lesser god, one of his descendants, to drive the demon away. Sarfert was told that Lugeilang was sent on these errands. The people of Ifalik today say it is Lugeilang's son TIIItr, with TIIItr's son TIIItal.

Aluelap is also awakened when any question comes up that none of the other gods can answer. His son pries his lids open and asks the question. He answers it, then falls asleep again.

Lamagei - Wife of Aluelap. No further details.

Saulal - lord of the underworld. According to the creation myth recorded by the Germans on Lamotrek, a son of Iat and Iol, hence a brother of Aluelap. According to Sarfert-Damm on Ifalik, has no parents or other relatives, but was the creator of the universe. His body, according to the same source, is half man, half lawud (some sea creature; Tom's attempt at explanation suggested a surgeon-

fish). Inhabits a large house in the underworld called Falisat. All that was told me on Ifalik is that he rules the underworld and the supernatural beings that live there.

Autran - a goddess; according to Sarfert-Damm, sister of Aluelap; according to the geneology given by Tom, a daughter of Aluelap. (The Sarfert-Damm version may well be more authentic, as the chiefs of 1947 seemed to know little about her.) Sarfert's informants of 1909 said that she was the ruler of earth and, though never married, the mother of all mankind. According to the same source, her house, named Lamolu, is in Garpar (Gatschapar) in Yap; and the chiefs of Garpar, in collecting tribute on Yap, are acting as her agents.

Autran established the tabu against sexual relations within the clan.

Lugeilang (or Lugweilang) - Son of Aluelap and Lemagei. When he was born, Aluelap assembled all the sky-dwellers to suggest names for his son.

A large star, Visitrax (apparently our Venus) said
'Let him be called Dung!'
'What!' cried Aluelap indignantly. 'My son called Dung!'
Other names were suggested by the felā fish and by the crab, but they did not please Aluelap.
Finally the star Mailap suggested the name Lugeilang.
'What does that mean?' asked Aluelap.

'It means 'He who lives in the sky' , the star replied.
Aluelap was greatly pleased. 'Yes,' he said. 'Let that be his [175] name.'

As a punishment for suggesting a name that means filth, it was ordained that the star Visitrax should have no fixed abode. Always it must travel. During one season it lives in the east, during the other in the west. Thus, in the trade-wind season, when Visitrax shines in the east, people have light after sunset to defecate by.

Lugeilang descended to earth and married a mortal woman. She bore him first a mortal son, Gio; then the god, Wolfat. He still descends to earth from time to time, Sarfert was told, to supervise men and their activities. If they are idle, he reports to Aluelap, who sends wind and rain, and to Saulal, who stirs up the sea into great waves. Typhoons, therefore, are punishment for men's laziness; and their severity is in proportion to the misbehavior.

Lugeilang is credited by Sarfert-Damm with teaching mankind the art of tattooing. For the accoumt given in 1947, see below under Wolfat.

(Lamanu or Ilaamalul - human wife of Lugeilang, does not properly belong in the list of gods. What was told of her and her mortal son, Gio, appears under Aluelap, Lugeilang, and Wolfat.)

Wolfat - Second son of Lugeilang and his human wife, Lamanu. According to Sarfert-

Damm, he was born on earth while his father, summoned by Aluelap to help repair the house Fatremal, was revisiting the sky. To judge by the number of tales told of him, Wolfat is the most prominent figure in the mythology of Ifalik. Sarfert collected several of these tales, and in 1947 Spiro collected similar versions of these and some others, forming a little cycle of ten apparently distinct tales. Wolfat also figures in the favorite myth of Galét, of which three versions were collected, and in the story told in 1947 of the origin of tattooing.

Lugeilang and Lamanu feared that if Wolfat knew he had a human elder brother, he would kill him. So they concealed Gio in the underseas world of Saulal. One of the stories tells how Wolfat learned of his brother's existence, waylaid him and killed him. One of the motifs that recurs in the tales is that Wolfat himself can not be killed, even with a gun.

In several tales Wolfat's role is that of a trickster. He delights in taking on all sorts of fantastic forms, in order to deceive those sent to look for him. In other tales, which verge on fables because a moral is implied in them, Wolfat takes the form of a small boy and asks groups of boys whom he meets to share their playthings with him. All but one refuse. He punishes all but the single generous one. This incident forms a theme with variations, the variations consisting mainly in different playthings and different punishments. The moral suggested is 'Be kind and generous to strangers'; but it is not explicitly stated.

In a tale told to me, Wolfat is credited with inventing tattooing, and teaching the art to mortals. He first tattooed himself in the sky, then came down to earth to visit a mortal sweetheart. By the light of the fire in her house, other women saw the beautiful decoration, and asked Wolfat's sweetheart to persuade him to teach their lovers how to beautify themselves in this way. This myth, which will be given more fully in the study of native arts, forms a charter for this institutionalized form of art.

With this exception (and this is attributed by Sarfert-Damm to Lugeilang), Wolfat remains a rather remote mythological figure, in spite of the compara- [176] tively rich lore clustered about him. He is not credited with any continuing relationship with mankind; nor is he invoked in any of the religious dance songs or incantations.

TIIItr - this son of Lugeiland and brother of Wolfat might be called the patron deity of Ifalik. It is he who is sent down to the atoll by Aluelap to drive off evil spirits, give instructions about curing disease, find and bring to port canoes blown off their courses, and teach mankind the songs by which he and his heavenly relatives can be properly invoked. This he does either by answering the questions addressed to him by favored human beings, or by taking possession of them and speaking or singing with their voices.

TIIItr's house, Ngiligejáp, is in the part of the sky called Lengilialo or

Langiliol. He and his son and sister listed below, are not mentioned in any of the religious dance songs, except the one used in invoking him. Some healing incantations collected by Spiro from Gargeligar, TIIItr's oracle during our stay on the atoll, also call on him by name.

The scarcity of lore about this god suggests that he may have been invented - or, as a believer might say, born - in comparatively recent times. Gargeligar, with the confirmation of others present when I interviewed him, said that the first parts of the invocation were known before his time, though TIIItr first sang the last parts through his mouth. The god is named in the third line of the invocation, which (in my rewording of Tom's translation) begins:

Night - it is night now.
Tomorrow, when daylight dawns,
The god TIIItr will speak to us all.

Recent though this god may be, then, Gargeligar seems at least not the first to be possessed by him. An old man, Orgalebwā, who lived in the homestead Weluāra, known as the house of the great gods, was possessed by a god at the time we witnessed the ceremony which includes this invocation. I understand at the time that the god was Aluelap, but this is contrary to the account later given of Aluelap's remaining in the sky and sending other gods to earth. So Orgalebwā may have been possessed by TIIItr as Aluelap's representative.

TIIItal or TIIIalo - son of TIIItr, mentioned in the invocation as descending to earth with his father and helping to supervise and protect the people.

Leurulalo - sister of TIIItr, mentioned in the invocation as interceding for the people.

Gods of Navigation

Aluluei - master of the lore of seamanship. His role in bringing it to Ifalik is recounted in the myths given in the chapter on Navigation. Said to have lived on Bwennap which, in spite of the underground extension attributed to it, seems to be identifiable with the earthly island Pulap. Other homes of his are (Sarfert-Damm) Piemal, far south of Ifalik; and Pie li Eluluei or Sand of Aluluei.

Paluelap' - according to Sarfert-Damm, a son of Aluelap and father of Aluluei. According to Tom's genealogy of the gods of navigation, one of the sons of Aluluei. Figures in the myths of seamanship and is invoked in a ritual to be described later. The name means 'great navigator'. [177]

Farewai - divine weather forecaster. His genealogical position uncertain; there may be two gods of this name. The genealogy given by Tom makes him a brother of Aluluei, as does that of Sarfert-Damm. The same name appears also in Tom's genealogy as a son of Aluluei. This is another Farewai, Tom explained.

Metseleilag - Named in Tom's genealogy, without further details, as brothers of

Teraolemetau - Aluluei.

Valūr - who changed his name to Sagōl - god of the fish who guide navigators. One of the sons of Aluluei. One of the myths about the lore of seamanship tells how he changed his name, after foiling the attempt of his brother Wëriëng to kill him.

Wëriëng - god of the sea-birds who guide navigators. Another son of Aluluei. Tried to kill his brother Valūr, who had been carring [sic] on an adulterous affair with Wëriëng's wife.

Segur - another son of Aluluei. Associated with the other gods of navigation, but without any exclusive powers, so far as known.

Longolap -
LongorIk - sons of Aluluei. In the myth of the lore of seamanship, LongorIk, the younger son, learned the lore thoroughly; but the uxorious Longolap, distracted by his wife, only learned a little bit, with disastrous results.

Ilekerep - god of the sea-lanes. Invoked in a navigator's prayer for guidance.

Sauta - invoked in a navigator's prayer for enlightenment.

Iolau - classed with the gods of navigation; but the only specific activity recorded of him is that he makes people sick if they eat wot taro without mashing it, or eat any of his six kinds of fish without first singing the proper song over them, to win his approval.

Loulemwau - god of the canoe. Invoked in a navigator's prayer or incantation to lighten

the vessel so that it will stay afloat.

Seimeligarara - a god of canoe building. His building of the first popo canoe told in the myth of Galét.

SemerIk - a god of canoe-building. Not placed genealogically. Invoked in a shipwright's prayer.

Seilangi - another god of shipbuilding, coupled with SemerIk in the shipwright's prayer. According to Sarfert-Damm, a brother of Aluluei. Not named in Tom's genealogy.

Seliwang - (Possibly a variant form of Seilangi.) These two are invoked in a song, to
Tibweau - help repair a canoe-hull which has come apart at sea, by fitting a rope sling about it.

Alulumar - god of house-carpenters. Here grouped with the gods of navigation because mentioned by Sarfert-Damm as one of the sons of Paluelap. Not named in the genealogy given by Tom.

Lauliar - In ordinary speech, this is the name for rainbow. On Ifalik rainbows are thought to bring bad weather. Sarfert-Damm give this as the name of an anthropomorphic spirit who brings storms and destroys canoes at sea unless propitiated [178] by the proper prayer or incantation. Even this will not avail if the people, by their misconduct, have offended Aluelap.

This divinity is of a kind rather rare on Ifalik, being apparently a

personification of a natural phenomenon. The only others recorded are Mesilipik, discussed below, and the two stars who suggested names for the son of Aluelap.

Sarfert-Damm relate that Lauliār came ashore on a driftwood log while a woman named Illegieri was bathing her little boy, Illepanigi, Lauliār seized the child and held it until the woman consented to be his wife. When the boy grew up, Lauliar taught him the invocation by which he can be propitiated, then returned to the sky. A different version, with a shift of name, follows.

Ilepanigi - According to a more detailed story told to Spiro, this is the name of the rainbow spirit who came ashore on a driftwood log, seized a boy (in this version named Sirō or hog) and married his mother (in this version named Meri). This tale is given on p. ____.

Alulevalū or Alus falū (literally, god of the land or island) - chief of the spirits who live ashore, in the trees, and inflict disease on those who disobey the chiefs or shirk communal labor.

Gol - a spirit who causes death.

Sauteti - Saurek - Named in the invocation to TIIItr as evil spirits, whose arrival on Ifalik is occasion for summoning TIIItr to drive them off. The harm they do is apparently the usual one of bringing sickness.

Saiol - a sea-spirit who inflicts sea-sickness. Among the healing incantations given by

Gargeligar to Spiro is one for exorcising him.

Alumaseragu - mentioned in a song as making love to a mortal woman; in comment on the song, characterized as an evil spirit.

Rangwau - (literally, snatch-quick) - waylays ghosts on their way to the sky, throws them into the lake Rourou to drown.

Alúsiwautas - It is not certain whether this is the name of a specific evil spirit, or a generic term for a class of them. 'Comes on top' of people, - that is, takes possession of them. Insanity is explained as possession by such a spirit.

Some Lesser Supernaturals

Totolu - a sky god who puts medicine, made by men, into coconuts, for the use of pregnant women.

Malemelel - invoked in a prayer or incantation to cure sickness of the head.

Legawo (same as Legobwu?) One of the little shrines beside houses, on Falálap, was said to be for this god. The similar name Legobwu occurs in a song, and was explained as that of a god who formerly brought to favored people whatever they desired. In discussing this song, Tom said that this god is no longer active.

Mesilipik - this being, who according to Gargeligar is not regarded as an alús, seems to be a personification of cold. He lives in the seas between the islands, and

[179] comes on the wind, bringing certain diseases: chills, fever, red spots on the body, blood in the feces.

Some Foreign Supernaturals Known on Ifalik

Uapei - the rainbow spirit of Faraulep, invoked in the sur perou dance performed in Ifalik by the men of FalarIk district, but said to have originated on Faraulep. Uapei comes on the rainbow to rescue mariners lost at sea. The people of Ifalik seem not to take this divinity seriously.

Metileru - a sea-demon of Faraulep. According to the FalarIk sur perou dance song, he comes from afar when the wind is in the east, snatches the souls of sick people from their bodies and carried them off in his canoe of flame.

Tagi - invoked in the FalarIk (originally Faraulep) sur perou to heal the sick by rescuing their souls from the canoe of Metileru.

Mwarisepa or Morisepa - said to be the ghost of a boy who died at sea; presumably a boy of Ulithi, for he is invoked in a series of songs attributed to that island. The songs are called by the same name, gapengpeng, as those used to invoke TIIItr on Ifalik; if there is an accompanying dance, it is not performed on Ifalik so far as known. This spirit helps mariners lost at sea; but people of Ifalik seem to have no active faith in him.

Ligeworlealeal - apparently a god of Ulithi, mentioned in a song attributed to that atoll.

Urumwaretr - a god of Woleai, mentioned in a song said to have originated there.
Ilamware - gods of Eaurupik, mentioned in the laūra stick dance, attributed to that island
Rangunengi - Ilamware is a female, mother of the other two.
Rangule -
Malesaro - another god mentioned in the laūra.

The foregoing list is far from exhaustive. A number of mythological characters, like Galét and his associates, are described as living in the sky and associating with gods. Galet and his wife walked on the waves. They have not been listed here because no relations with mankind are attributed to them. Some characters in other tales have supernatural attributes; notably Tungā in the legend about Lamotrek, who was described by Tom as 'all same man, no man.' But no superhuman deeds are attributed to him."

1: Burrows--179
116, 592, 613, 776

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"No individual names were recorded for one whole class of supernaturals, the ancestral ghosts associated with homesteads or lineages. There are said to be at least as many of these spirits as there are homesteads (twenty-nine occupied in 1947, several more that had been occupied within the memory of those living then.)"

2; Damm et al. --86-87 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-1-2
116, 776 Ifaluk

The starry heavens are the abode of Äluelŏb. He dwells as king in the house Fadjemál, which stands at the zenith (woliwū), and looks like a stately house on earth. He is larger than human beings, and omniscent; he neither eats nor drinks, and always has his eyes closed. He reposes on a platform in the middle of the house, while the other people sleep on the floor. His wife is Lamagéi. If one of the inhabitants of heaven does not know what to do about something (building canoes, weaving), he asks various people for information, then turns to Lugēilăn and if he does not know, he turns to Olofād. If he still can not find the answer to his problem, he begs Lugēilăn to ask Äluelŏb about it. [87] Then Lugēilăn goes to the king of the heavens, opens his eyes with his hand, and gets the information; and then Äluelŏb goes back to sleep.

Lugēilăn is considered to be the son of Äluelŏb, and people call him the right hand of the king. He has a house, which is near Äluelŏbs, but the name of it is no longer known. His wife is Lämälūl; she is not a heavenly being, for she comes from the earth. When Lugēilăn visited the earth once upon a time, he married her and lived with her. Finally, Äluelŏb sent a messenger to him, ordering him to come back and to call all the residents of heaven together to repair the Fadjemal, because the rain was getting into the building. While he was away, his wife gave birth to Olofād. During Lugēilăn's visit on earth men learned about tattooing.

Lugeilan has to superintend the work that is being done on earth on the various islands (building canoes and houses, fishing etc.). He gives a daily report to Aluelob, and if the inhabitants of an island are not industrious, but are wasting time eating and sleeping, Aluelob commands him to send storm and rain; he also orders Solal to stir up the sea. Then the island is visited by a typhoon, which is of a severity commensurate with the sins of the inhabitants. That is why Oleai was laid waste, and many of the natives died; the same thing occurred on Aurepik and Ifaluk, but with a smaller loss of life. The natives believe that there is no man who is thoroughly good, and nobody is absolutely evil; they think that Lugeilan himself punishes individuals for their misdeeds and failures; he does this by sending disease (mas), and in serious cases, death.

In such cases men have recourse to magic charms. But if this deity has ordained death, and he does so by saying: "this man and that man shall die!"; then there is nothing more to be done.

2: Damm et al. --87-89 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-1-4
116, 776 Ifaluk

After five months Lämälūl gave birth to Olofád, who emerged from the sutures of his mother's head. He could walk immediately, and paid no attention to his mother, when she wanted to wipe the blood off. He said he could do that himself, and so he rubbed himself on a coconut palm. That is why a number of palm trunks have a reddish hue. When his mother called to him, that she wanted to cut off his umbilical cord, he replied that he would attend to that, and so he took a knife, and cut it himself.

During his earthly life Olofád saw how all the other boys were drinking from coconuts. So he ran to his mother and asked: "Why do you not give me a nut, when all the others are drinking the milk from this fruit. ?" Then Lämälūl was frightened, because Lugēilán had told her that she would have a son, but that she should not permit him to drink any coconut milk; if he did so he would leave her and come up to his home in the heavens. Accordingly, she said to him: "You must not drink, for if you do, you will die." [88] And so Olofád lived. But one day he saw all his comrades drinking out of these nuts in the big house, and so he ran to his mother again, and said: "Mother, all of them are drinking nuts, why can I not drink? I want to drink nuts too!" The mother answered sharply: "Then you will have to die." Olofád replied: "Good! I want to drink coconuts too, and if I have to die, it really does not make any difference." But his mother refused to give him a nut, and so Olofád began to scream, and he would not stop. Finally his mother surrendered, and brought him a nut. Olofád took it, and

drank the milk. While he was drinking, he looked up, and saw his father Lugēilān. Then Olofād cried: "I am not going to stay on the earth any more, I am going to my father's house in heaven!" But his mother said: "You shall stay here; what do you want to do there ?" But Olofād kept on screaming. Then his mother prepared food from coconuts, laid it in the fire, and when the smoke rose, she said to her son: "Come in the fire!" When he entered the flame, he rose with the smoke to the heavens. On the way he met some boys, who were playing with some little nōk fish. Olofād said to them: "Come, give me a nōk, I want to play with one too!" But all of them answered: "Why should we give you a fish; they belong to us." Only one boy gave his fish to Olofād, so that he could play with it. Olofād pretended that he was amusing himself with it, then gave it back, and went on his way. But he said to the fish: "When I go, catch the boys and sting them!" And so the fish stung the boys with the stings on their dorsal fins, and only one was spared.

As Olofād went along, he saw some boys playing with little sharks. He asked them to let him have a fish, so that he might play too. But the boys replied: "From whence do you come, and what do you want to do here?" Only one of them gave him a shark, and he played with it. As he went further , he told all the sharks to bite the boys, and so it happened that only the one boy was saved. And Olofād went farther, and met boys, who were using play boats; they refused to let him join them, and only one boy loaned

him his boat. When Olofád left the boys, he said to the toy canoes: "You boats, go away quickly, so that the boys will not be able to catch you; go away quickly!" Then the canoes sailed away so rapidly that they could not be found. Only the boat of the one boy remained.

Then Olofád came to Fadjemál, and found that the men of the heavens were repairing the house. They went into the forest, to make supporting pillars out of the járo trees. When they saw Olofád, they noticed that he was an earth-dweller, and they resolved to slay him. While they were carrying a large prop on their shoulders to the house, they all walked on one side, and Olofád had to go on the other. When they reached the house, they all dropped the support quickly, so that it would crush Olofád; but he jumped quickly to one side, and was not injured. Then when the men wanted to sink the props in the hole [89] they sent Olofád down to enlarge it and line it with coconut fronds, as that is the custom when you set posts. Olofád took the leaf of the walimáko plant, and stuck some red earth (lāb) in his mouth. As soon as he was in the ditch, the men let go of the beam, but Olofád took the nerve of a coconut leaf, and quickly bored a passage through the soft marrow of the trunk, and then he spit out the red earth, and the leaf, which he had chewed. The pulp ran down along the outside of the beam. Then the men thought that Olofád was dead, and they believed that the red sap was blood, and that the remains of the leaves were gall. When the house was finished, Lugēilán prepared a repast for all the workers inside it. But Olofád crawled up through the hollow in the

marrow of the beam, and sat down out of sight on a diagonal rafter. While the others were eating, he ordered an ant to bring him a little piece of coconut. It did so. Olofád rolled it around from one hand to the other, and said that it should turn into a whole nut. And so it happened. Then he sent for a kernel of sand, and changed it into a stone, following a similar procedure; he cracked the nut, and then all the men looked up, and were very astonished to find that Olofád was again among the living. Then they all realized that Olofád was no ordinary mortal, but the son of Lugēilān. He told Olofád to come down, and to eat with them. And after this no more attempts were made on his life. Olofād was also tattooed in the Fadjemāl. He lives unmolested in the heavens, but occasionally he goes south, west, east or north and sees how the men on earth are singing and dancing, because he loves that; but he always goes back to Fadjemāl.

Another authority of Sarfert added the following episode to this story. Olofád saw the people cutting coconut fronds from the palms to plait the mats for the roofs, and he asked for a knife, so that he might help. But all the men refused his request, save one; he loaned his knife, and Olofád got up on a palm, and cut fronds. When he was tired of work, he gave the knife back, and as he left he said: "All the men are to get stiff where they are, and they are not going to be able to move any more." And so it happened. The men remained rigid, wherever they were, one was climbing, another coming down, the third chopping, and another was carrying the fronds to the house. Only the helpful man, who had loaned Olofád the knife, could move.

Baluelób * is another resident of heaven; nothing definite is known about his relationship to Aluelób, although many people think that he is a son. [90] He lives with his wife Jiawók and his sons Älülüéi, Selán, Farawái and Ällülümádj in Fadjemál, and in olden days, like the other residents of heaven, he used to visit the earth. At that time people on earth could also come up to heaven. Balüelób is an authority on sails, and he also knows how to mend broken canoes.

His sons also know about seafaring. So Älülüéi sees to it that the natives sail the

* The natives of Mogemog and Polap are supposed to know a great deal about him; the other islanders obtained their information from this source.

right course in their canoes, and that they find the islands, which they want to visit. He keeps bad weather away, and provides a good breeze. In payment for this, the captains have to make bánewan, and lay a sacrifice to him on the canoe; this takes the form of a loin apron and two coconuts. If the sea gets rough, Älülüéï takes this gift, that means, he throws it into the water. Älülüéï lives on Biemál Island, which is south from Ifaluk, and it is supposed to be a three months journey. It is uninhabited, and only has one pandanus tree. The canoe house of Älülüéï also stands here; it is called Gaiméïm, and it is the place where the spirit keeps thin coconut thread (galogál) for nets, houses etc.

Selán is the real canoe builder; he made the first boat in Módj, and taught the art to men. Módj is a small inhabited island in the east, that lies a four days voyage south from Truk.

Farawáï is a competent judge of the weather. He can tell at sun rise whether it is going to rain or not, and he informs Älülüéï about it. There is no bánewan for him.

Like his father, Älülümädj knows how to repair boats and houses, which have been destroyed by storms and tides. It is no longer known how he taught this art to men.

The air and its inhabitants.

The rainbow is a male spirit, Lauliăr, who is in the service of the king of heaven. The natives did not know anything about his origin. He came to Ifaluk once upon a time, and he was swimming on a piece of drift wood. A woman, whose name was Illegieri, was washing her child Illebanigi in the water, and had laid her loin apron aside. Lauliăr seized the little boy, and refused to give him back until the woman promised to become his wife. Then they went to her house, and Lauliăr stayed until Illebanigi was grown. Then he taught him the bănewan, and the Ifaluk natives learned it later from him. After that Lauliăr returned to the heavens.

The natives believe that the earth is ruled by Audjăl, the sister of the king of heaven. She has the normal figure of a woman, and no animal's body. Although she never married, she had a number of children, and they populated all the islands. The inhabitants believe that she is the first mother of humanity. [91] Audjăl demanded tribute from her children, and they paid it faithfully until modern times. Since her house Lamolŭ or Lamorŭ is in Kărebar * on Yap, the king of Kărebar occasionally sets a time for the various islands to pay their tribute. The amount depends upon what is assembled.

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* This is Gatschepar on Yap.

The Ifaluk natives bring loin aprons, home made boxes, resin from bread-fruit trees to calk the canoes. In the boat house, where Sarfert stayed, there was a chest with about twenty loin aprons for Âudjál.

Tree spirits. There are also spirits in the trees, Ällüsiliwóli. Their king is called Jalüllefálu; he gets his orders from Lugēilän, and then conveys them to his subordinates. They pursue the men, who do not obey the earthly chief.

The ocean is also peopled with spirits (Ällüsidäd), who obey Solál. You can obtain their favor by engaging in a bänewan in the canoe; then Solál orders the spirits to give the fisherman a fine catch.

Aurepik has the cult of the great spirit Yăñelap, whose house is in Kadjebăr. * Most of the Micronesian islands pay tribute to him: for example, Mogomog, Feis, Sorol, Oleai, Ifaluk, Faraulip, Lamutrik, Satowal, Polowat, Hok, Truk, Pingelap, Kătāu (-Kusai?), Imăl, Meseliŏl, etc., because he populated the islands. He said to a woman: "Go to this place!" And to another: "Go to that island and beget children!" And so the women went with their husbands to those islands, and populated them. The first mother of Aurepik was Ligowurieliĕl, her husband was Ligowūw; the names of her children are not known. Hambruch on page 143, gives another version of the creation of man and the settling of Aurepik.

Yăñelap does not leave his house, but from time to time he goes up in the air, and looks at his islands. They all bring him tribute in the form of mats, bowls, etc. The natives of Oleai, Ifaluk, Faraulip, Lamutrik, Satowal and Aurepik all made the trip together, and they [143] started from Oleai. The canoes gathered here, and then travelled by way of Feis and Mogemog to Kadjebăr. The "king" of this pilgrimage then brings the tribute into Yăñelap's house where it remains untouched and goes to pieces. When the Hamburg South Sea Expedition was on Aurepik, a number of the islanders were away; they had gone to Kadjebăr, but the king had sent them to do some work on Nauru, and only one member of the group had remained on Yap.

" * It is Ašebăr on Yap (compare Damm and Sarfert, 1935, page 198).

2: Damm et al. --143-144 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-2
116, 776 Aurupik

Hambruch heard another legend on Aurepik; it refers to Yanelap, and describes the creation of mankind on our island, but it also throws an interesting light on the origin of deities. Yanelap told the Yap native Choiss to go to Aurepik and then to make some people out of a spondylus shell. Choiss himself had a son, whom he called Raigumen. He is the real god of the seafarers; and he is invoked at the beginning of a sea voyage, when a typhoon threatens, and before a fishing expedition. Various kinds of sacrificial gifts hang in his house (garlands for the hair, mats, coconuts); just a short distance from the hut was his tomb, which was fenced with stones and well kept.

2: Damm et al. --19[7] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 776 Faraulep

Solăl (Thâuulăl, Thâulalŭ) rules the underworld (ilălo); he is a creature half man, and half fish. He created the animals in the sea, and then put an administrator over each island, in order to assure a fine catch for all the inhabitants. The sun shines in the underworld when it is night on earth. The islanders believe that this land is more luxuriant than the world, and they picture it as a kind of Utopia. The primeval reef is here too. Alŭelăp orders Solăl to stir up the ocean; this produces typhoons, and people perish.

Alüelăp has a wife, but her name is not known; their children are Nimegĕï (♀), who gave men the coconut, and Lugĕïleń (♂), but there is still another version about the origin of the latter. On Faraulip as on Polowat, Lugĕïleń is considered to be the confidant of the celestial deity. He had two wives; one in heaven, whose name was Lāmelŭl (Ilamalŭl), and one on earth, Taiaurŏx; she was the mother of his son Olufăth, while the other marriage was childless. The section on legends tells about the deeds of this god, who is known everywhere on the Carolines.

According to legend, Alüelăp had some more adopted children; and among them Thelăń and Paluelăp are especially important for the islanders. The former is the inventor of canoe-building, and it is to him that the natives dedicate the measuring string with two coconut pinnates (tjăts) hanging at the ends, and the canoe ax. The latter made the first sail, and he knows all the paths on the sea. For that reason, when the Captains want to be sure of reaching their goal safely, and of having a calm sea, they sacrifice a coconut and a mat to Paluelăp in the canoe house. His son Elülüe is his helper in everything.

2: Damm et al. --198 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 776, 241 Faraulep

The ruler of the air (oiutjăr; the blue of the heaven - li ma rauerau) is Thauur, a brother of Solal; he is the intermediary between the heavens and the underworld, and he communicates the wishes of Alŭelăp and Solal to mankind. He takes care of the ripening of the bread-fruit, taro, sweet potatoes, and any other foods.

Yoṅelăf

is regarded as a kind of demon. And since he brings the typhoon, he is greatly feared on the lower Caroline Islands. There is a story about how he became known on the islands:

Once upon a time the Yap men wanted to sail to Palau. But a strong wind rose, and blew them to Oleai. They told the inhabitants that a powerful king, Yoṅelăf, ruled in Yap, and that all the islands as far as Tarŏa (Tarawa of the Gilbert Islands) belonged to him. If they did not want to be destroyed by a typhoon, they should bring him some presents in the immediate future. The Oleai islanders were somewhat incredulous about this story, but they were rather frightened, and so they made regular sacrifices to Yoṅelăf. This cult spread east from Oleai.

Hambruch also heard about a fabulous country, Matăṅ, which is supposed to lie in the east, and it is certainly the same thing as the Mĕhăṅ of Polowat.

Hambruch said that mighty men like Ponijŏu, who became famous on account of his fish magic, were made local deities, and that the natives sacrificed to them in little spirit huts.

4: Krämer--91-92
116, 776, 463, 396

(1909) 1937

Woleaians
Lamotrek

In the discussion of navigation... Alúluel has been identified as the god of the navigators but also Lugeileng is closely connected with navigation.

As the builder of boats he is most important. He has many assistants among them Sëlang, Semalegóror, Semadjek, etc., who have been characterized in more detail in the chapter on religion, where there offices are explained in some detail. [92]

The head construction man, the séllap, (Truk: silelap) and his assistant, the rolifé-lefél, must not do any other work while they are engaged in the construction of a canoe; the one possible exception to this rule might be roofing. After the 5th day of taboos, the póufar... álisulap (Alúelap) conducts the ceremony lulur which frees the assistants from the taboos, whereas the headman is subject to them until the canoe is completed.

4: Krämer--122 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1.2
116, 776, 502 Lamotrek

In connection with the canoe...it has been mentioned that Alúluei is the god of the navigators.... There he is referred to as the son of Paluelap and is called Alului, whereas on Truk he is thought to be identical with Aluelap. In other instances it has been claimed that he is identical with Paluilap. I learned that in addition to five gods there existed seventeen auxiliary navigators. Their names are:

Gods:

Alúelap	Olofat
Lugeileng	Alúluei
Eidjal	

Auxiliary Navigators:

1. Alulápelap	7. Sābug
2. Maselëlog	8. Fágara
3. Tarailemetau	9. Olopëlipen
4. Vórieng	10. Madjebol
5. Faludj	11. Lëbútobut
6. Gapiumolefádj "Pandanus fruit"	12. Uman

Carpenters:

Legedjilab	Sëlang

4: Krämer--122 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-2
116, 776, 502 Lamotrek

Semèligóror Meseiseit
Semeligodjúat

The large number of spirits is to be explained by the fact that every navigator has his own spirit, whereas Luluei is common to them all.

4: Krämer--144-145 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
776 Lamotrek

[VMM: For references to the specific rights, duties, and prerogatives of gods, see 4: Krämer 144-145.]

4: Krämer--149 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-2
116, 502, 776 Lamotrek

On Lamotrek Zelang is called Sëlang and is considered the inventor of the figurehead, its shapes and is one of the five assistants of Lugeileng and the carpenters; the other four are:

2. Semălegóror, the guardian of the form, of the outrigger, the planks; he draws and marks the lines, speeds up the work. Perhaps he is identical with Semágor the brother of Morva Feis in story 2...
2a. Semadjek looks after the thwarts, the ebĕp and fáraf and he helps with them.
3. Ligadjălap or Ligĕdjilab, the painter, takes care of the paint (lap), the line and the cement.
4. Simalĕgodjuát the "turner," from godjuat "to turn over" does the first rough work on the tree trunk in the bush and he checks on how the wood can best be used.
5. Meseîseit improves the work of Sëlang with his fine eye (mes).

In addition, Hambruch mentions Alülemez who helps the men with the caulking so that the boat will prove water-tight. In general he is responsible for the safety of the canoe, protects it from breaking and helps with repairs.

Above all these ranks Lugeileng. He hovers over the place of construction and his people execute the work. His dwelling is Falesidj* in heaven.

*sidj is supposed to be the word for bamboo on Yap, but is not found in Müller's book on Yap.

4: Krämer--149 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-2
116, 502, 776 Lamotrek

For the voyage itself Paluelap is important because he is the "great pallu"; he is mentioned principally in connection with Pollat. According to Hambruch he married the woman Ilagaiidjor on that island and from her learned all about navigation and for that reason Pollap leads all other islands in that art.

4: Krämer--149-150 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-12
116, 776, 173 Elato

Hambruch was told on Elato that the following are children of Paliulăp and Ilisagŏrŭ:

Farouâi (a boy)	he controls the weather and gives out warnings in case of bad weather
Alului (a boy)	see below
Rongerik (a boy)	he guides the canoes back home; see Pollap
Xaligi (a boy)	he takes care of the canoes and their construction on land
Rongelap (a boy)	he takes the canoes out to the open seas; [150]
Zemal (a girl)	
Mangear (a girl)	she is in charge of the food and sees to it that the dishes prepared for the drew of a canoe turn out well
Ilegafaz (a girl)	she takes care of the fire on board

It is said of Alulei* that under the name of Aluelap he is the navigator; on Pollap too he is the expert on canoes. In Muller 313 he is called Paloolop, or his father is known by that name. It is really of no importance whether Alului is the son of Paluelap or is Paluelap himself, because in navigation they are identical. He is best known as the god of the oracles.** Thus he is thought of as the god of navigation and has four eyes, two in

* On Oleai the word equals alu levei the spirit of the voyage...

**inopui or boe

front and two in back. . . Hambruch learned on Elato that Alului went out with the canoes on its voyages and safely guided it. His place, parang, is on the outrigger of every boat on which coconuts, begi, aromatic plants, etc. are placed before the start of any voyage. If the sea carries away the sacrificial offering, Alului is said to have called for them. He has a wife. His son is called Falus and he helps his father.

Lugeileng is also looked upon as the messenger of Aluelap. Hambruch learned on Elato that Lugeleng visited all islands and reported to Eluelap about their condition, about the inhabitants and their character, their behavior and their work; if they are industrious he helps them, but if they are lazy he sends them a typhoon. Zaulalu assists him in this work. Every day a report is made. Lugeleng gave the islanders the dance, and song, and medicine.

4: Kramer--150 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 776 Lamotrek

On Lamotrek Audjal is considered the real ressenger of the gods, whereas on Elato the concept includes Ururulang.... One day Audjal was very angry at the human beings because they were not good. For that reason and as a punishment he changed the figures; in the past one had counted: 10 seg, 9 tiv, 8 val, 7 fis, 6 uōl, 5 lim, 4 fāng, 3 ēel, 2 rū, 1 ēot so that one began with 10, which was the immediate return of work, now the counting begins with 1.

Urupo comments: originally their knowledge extended to the elbow but now it is limited to the tip of the fifth finger; but with every generation of white people it grows into infinity. God has given them four fingers, but to the Kanakas he has only given the fifth.

4: Krämer--150-151 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 776 Lamotrek

Ururulang, the messenger...is the guard who walks up and down in front of the heavenly house of Fadjamal (Hambruch: Fatsumel). He hears and sees everything and reports all to Eluelap. No soul is admitted to heaven unless he has been judged by him. The good may settle in the house of Fadjamal but the evil are thrown into the waterhold bŏl ipĕs where they have to stay for ever. Every mortal has a thread of life, the idjor e melau.* When a soul enters the heavens, Ururulang tells his people, Kula, that they should look at the [151] thread of life and see whether it is in order. If his men are able to disentangle it quickly the person is good but if it is a hard task and the thread remains entwined the person is bad. Oleiguso is the woman who cuts the thread, and Litafidjor (=woman hold straight the thread) the woman who turns it and keeps it in place and gives it to Eluelap. When a human being is born his "flesh" is on earth, but the thread of his life, his idjor e mĕlau is in heaven.

Hambruch also heard the name Yongelaf mentioned and his story was the same as on Faraulip; above he has been mentioned in connection with Yap. He was also told about Nigereger, the dweller on earth, who one day quarreled with the moon; the latter finally said: "Nigĕregĕr you shall die; if I myself die I shall be alive tomorrow, but you die once and for all."

*mellau, life.

4: Krämer--281 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 776 Woleai

The three gods of the Carolinians* are Alouhilap =Alúelap, Lougheling =Lugeileng, and Olifad =Olefat.

*The same are mentioned by the native, Kadu see Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise... Vol. III, page 129. In other instances 7 gods are named: Ligopoup, Kantal, Alouilap, Litefeo (see Litobeo), Houlagouf, Lougheling, and Olifad.

"These sky gods are known as Alusiang. The word, Alus, is the generic term for supernatural, of which, as we shall see, there are two kinds--benevolent and malevolent. The benevolent supernaturals are called Alusemar, of which there are two categories; the alusisalup (literally, the alus of the earth) who, as we shall see, are the benevolent dead, and the Alusiang, (literally, the alus of the sky), who are this royal, family the pantheon of high gods.

Solan, the third child of Legobub, and the brother of Autran and Aluelap was assigned, it will be remembered, to the nether-world, Ilal, where he lives in his house, called Falisat. Ilal is inhabited by mortals, like those living on earth. It is all ocean, and enjoys neither sun, moon, nor stars. The people seem to live in water-proof houses. Solan, in some vague way, controls the fish supply. He is especially angry at men who catch fish immediately following sexual intercourse, for they 'stink', and punishes them with illness. (7)

"7. Solan is a very vague being in the minds of both the chiefs and of Arogeligar, neither of them remembering any details about him. This follows from the negligible role he plays in their lives and thought. Solal, too, does not fit into either of the two categories of alusemar, though in terms of the creation myth, he belongs to the pantheon of high gods."

Solan and Aluelap, according to the chiefs, cause death, the consent of both being necessary. If one of the two wishes a person to die, he informs the other. If the latter agrees, the person dies; if not, he continues to live. (8). [50]

These high gods, the alusiang, are not clearly defined conceptually because they are relatively unimportant functionally. If the chiefs and Arogeligar are vague about these supernaturals, the people are almost entirely ignorant of them. Invariably I would be told by men and women, adults and youths, that though they had heard of the name of

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"8. Again confusion reigns. The malevolent dead, as we shall soon see are universally accepted as the agents of death, rather than Solal and Aluelap. Furthermore, within this theory, Arogeligar, who is the specialist in matters of death has a variant interpretation. Aluelap decides when a person is to die. He informs Lolal of his intention, and Solal informs Metha, who then removes the person's soul, thus causing his death."

Aluelap or Solan, or Autran, they did not know what they did, where they lived, or exactly whom they were, other than the fact that they were alus. The one exception is the alus, Tilitr. But Tilitr, strictly speaking, is not an alusiang, but rather the Ifaluk patron deity, and we shall discuss his role shortly."

"The Alusisalup comprise the second category of alusemar, and these are the functionally important benevolent supernaturals. Every person becomes an alus at death. If a person is evil or malevolent on earth, he becomes an evil or malevolent alus at death; that is, his immortal character is but a continuation of his mortal character. If a person is good or benevolent on earth, he becomes a good or benevolent alus at death, his immortal character being a persistence in time of his mortal character. (9) Now

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"9. Actually, immortal, is a better rendering of alus than supernatural. Supernatural has been understood in western culture to mean an ontological realm of being, in contrast to and absolutely separated from, the natural realm, or nature. The dichotomy between the natural and supernatural orders is absolute and unqualified, so that only by an act of divine revelation can the two realms ever meet. Now this dichotomy of the universe into the natural and supernatural violates the native conons of thinking in Ifaluk. There is but one ontological order which comprises the 'Great Society.' of aramat inhabitants of the earth, and alus, inhabitants of the sky. There is constant interraction between them, and they are alike in most respects, except that the former are mortal and the latter, immortal."

it should be clearly understood that the western concept of supernatural reward and punishment is completely absent from Ifaluk thought. The Alusengau, the malevolent alus, is not such because he is punished for his immoral behavior on earth. Nor is the moral person rewarded at death by becoming an alusisalup. Both good and evil persons ascend at death to the sky as they were on earth. When a man dies, his soul (ngas) ascends to the sky on a special path. At the end of the path there stands a guard (10), who directs the souls to their respective habitations."

"10. This guard is named, but none of the chiefs could remember it, and inquiry about the village produced only negative results."

28: Spiro--51 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776, 261, 151 Ifalik

"Food, as we shall see, is a focal value in Ifaluk, so that I was interested to know the food of the alus. The chiefs confessed that they did not know. Arogeligar, on the other hand, said that the alusisalup have two kinds of food--flowers and wot, both of which they obtain in the sky. The people on earth wear flower leis (parmar) because they know that the gods are fond of them, and will smell their fragrant odor, should they descend. They like the odor of flowers, and they abhor 'any stink.'"

28: Spiro--51 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776, 262, 252 Ifalik

"Wot is a species of taro, much rarer than the other two kinds of Ifaluk, and is prised very highly. Its value is apparently recognized by the alus as well, since it is the only other food eaten by them. When a person on earth is ill, wot is prepared for him, at the behest of the alus (that is, at the behest of Arogeligar), because of its presumed medicinal value. (12)"

"12. Wot is prepared differently from other kinds of taro. It is prepared differently from other kinds of taro. It is placed directly on the fire, and is removed after much charcoal formed. It is then ground fine, grated coconut meat is ground in with it, after which ground leaves of the warung and angorik plants are mixed in."

28: Spiro--51-53 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 776, 787, 753 Ifalik

"Both kinds of alus live identical lives in the sky, the only difference being that the alusengau have 'very bad stomach', that is, they are evil. Langalian, the abode of the alusisalup, is constantly beautiful. Pungulon, on the other hand, the abode of the alusengau fluctuates between extreme beauty and extreme ugliness, but when it is beautiful, it is even more beautiful than Langalian. [WPM: p. 52 is missing from original text.] [53]

Though the alusisalup live in the sky, some of them descend to earth, appear to a person, and possess him. These alus do not possess any one indiscriminately, but possess only persons in their own matrilineal lineage. Thus, the alus is inherited matrilineally, so that a man and his son have different alus. Each lineage house has some alus --Arogeligar said, three or four--that are its special alus, and they function as parental protectors and mentors of the lineage. The alus may possess any person in the lineage, but particularly the walialus (literally, the canoe of alus), of which there is one in every lineage. The walialus is recognised by his frequency of possession. The alus 'come on top' the possessed person, and the latter, then, is conceived of as a canoe which the alus rides.

The alus possesses the walialus for several reasons. He may be lonesome for his mortal kin, or he may wish to admonish them to be good, and to shun evil. The lineage knows the names of its alus, as the latter tell their names to the walialus. These names

are different from their earthly names, since they are given new names by Aluelap, when they ascend to the sky. Whether the possessee recognises the exact kinship relationship of the alus is not clear. Some say that the alus informs the possessee of his name, but not of his relationship. Others, including Arogeligar, say that he reveals his exact relationship. In the pidgin English of Tom, the alus descends on a person, and asks: 'you savvy me?'. If the person does not recognise him, the alus says, 'I your father', or whatever the relationship may be. He then tells him, 'No do bad, no talk bad (against) alus and people. You make good. By'm by you have sick, I give you medicine.'

This last phrase, 'I give you medicine' is the most important function of the alus. As we shall see the alusengau cause disease, and it is the alusisalup that provide the medicine to cure the victim. The exact nature of healing will be examined later, but here it must be stressed that aside from acting as the benevolent patron of the lineage, the sole function of the alusisalup is to cure the ill."

28: Spiro--55 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776 Ifalik

"The alusengau, we have already observed, also live in the sky, at its southern extremity. They are the malevolent alus, and according to all informants, they are much more numerous than the benevolent alus. As far as I could determine there are no alusengau that correspond to the Alusiang, the high gods, who existed before the creation of man. Now since the alusengau are wicked, it follows that had there been no evil people there would be no alusengau. This means that the only alusengau are those who formerly were mortals. All natives agree that there are many more alusengau than alusemar, the implication being that there are more evil people than good, a point to which we shall have occasion to address ourselves later. It is also universally agreed that the incidence of women alusengau is much higher than that of men, and they are not only more numerous, but they are the most viscious.

Not all the alusengau, however, inhabit the sky. Some evil souls are directed to live in the ocean, about the reef, and these are known as alusetat, literally the alus of the ocean. The alusetat are, it is agreed, more evil than those who inhabit the sky. (14)"

"14. According to Freudian symbolism that the ocean, or water in general, is a female symbol, particularly a mother symbol. It is interesting to observe, therefore, that the female alus and the ocean alus are universally accepted as the most evil."

28: Spiro--57 [2]
116, 776, 156, 753

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"A culture that asserts the existence of imaginary beings will inevitably produce people who actually perceive those beings. Arogeligar has seen many alusenagau. I have already alluded to the woman who claimed that an alusengau threw stones at her. Tom, who is the most acculturated and most sophisticated of the natives, and who, as we shall see, expressed skepticism concerning the power of the alusemar, has no doubt that people see the alusengau. One morning, for example, he came to inform me that the night before, while he had been with me, his wife and adult son had heard an alus. They first heard his cane being dragged across the roof of their house, and later they heard someone walking about the house, and then spit. Though they were both very frightened, when they heard the steps again, they looked out, but the alus (for that is what they thought it was) was gone. I asked Tom if he had something (some medicine) to keep the alus away, and he had none. He wanted to know if I could protect myself if an alus should want to attack me, and I said I had. He asked me if I would give him my medicine, but I explained that only Americans could use it, and that if the alus should appear again, he should call me, and I would scare him away with my flashlight, since the alus, I told him, were frightened of the flashlights. In the late afternoon Tom came to our tent to remind me of my promise. The next morning when Tom came to see us I asked if the alus had come the night before, and he said it had not come, because it had heard him discussing the matter with me, and had been scared away.

Another time I noticed that Tom had moved into an uninhabited house in his courtyard. When I asked the reason he explained that he had dreamt of being chased by an alus, and therefore moved to the other house, as a precautionary measure. This, indeed, indicates strong fear in view of the fact that dreams are usually not interpreted as omens of the future, or as having any other significance."

28: Spiro--57 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776, 753 Ifalik

"The fear of the alus is indicated by abundant evidence. Linguistically it is of interest to note that the term alus, by itself, always refers to the alusengau, unless the context indicates a benevolent variety. The alus usually attack only at night, so that no one will venture out at night into the bush. The people remain within the village, and preferably within the courtyard, and if they must go out for some reason, they light a coconut torch, for they believe that the alus will shun the light. Furthermore, they cover their doorways with mats to keep out the devil."

28: Spiro--57-58
116, 513, 776, 753

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Formerly the unmarried young men slept in the club houses or canoe houses. When I asked why this custom has been abandoned, they explained that there are only a few young men now, and that they are afraid of being attacked by the alus. [58]

One evening I was sitting in a canoe house with the young men, and I asked Talimera to bring some cigarettes for the boys from my tent. He was afraid to go alone because of the alus, and would consent to go only if I gave him my flashlight (which I had explained to him, too, was a prophylactic against the alus.)"

28: Spiro--58 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776, 157, 753 Ifalik

"Another important indication of the people's preoccupation with the alus, is the evidence from native phantasy life. The incidence of perception of alus in the Rorschach and TAT is very high, and the perception of the alus in the blots and pictures, is of course, sheer projection. The frequency of the alus in the children's drawings makes it one of the most favorite categories. Indeed it was the drawing of the alus by the children-the small children--that aroused my curiosity about the alus and their meaning to the people. Finally a large percentage of the dreams I collected were nightmares, in which an alus was about to attack the dreamer, at which point he awoke. The dreaming of the alus indicates as strongly as possible how deeply into the unconscious of the people the belief in, and fear of, the alus has struck.

On a more conscious level is the fear of the alus expressed in the Stewart Emotional Response Test. A significantly high percentage of people responded with alus, when asked to tell what arouses fear in them."

28: Spiro--58-59 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 753, 776, 184, 789 Ifalik

"It is believed that babies are especially vulnerable to the alus, so that they are liable to their attacks even in the daylight. Hence, a baby taken from its home will be covered with a cloth, so that an alus should not see it.

It is obvious from this discussion that we are dealing here with a profoundly significant belief in Ifaluk culture and personality alike. For no matter how conceptualized every person, without exception, lives in great fear of the alus, one ever expressed any skepticism concerning either their existence or their power. [sic] Now this lack of skepticism cannot be attributed solely to conditioning factors, or to the culture pattern, or the determinism of the collective representations, from which the savage cannot extricate himself, to employ the jargon of three alternative schools of thought. For if these factors were primarily responsible for the firmness of this belief, then the same lack of skepticism should prevail in the belief in the benevolent alus, the alusemar, and such is not the case, for here, the natives are entirely pragmatic in their approach, their belief being contingent upon the objective evidence of the aluseman's power. The only objective documentation I have for this assertion comes from Tom. Now it might be argued that his higher degree of acculturation accounts for his skepticism. But this is untenable for this acculturation did not induce any skepticism as regards the alusengau, and furthermore, despite his acculturation, Tom accepts without qualification the entire pattern of natives beliefs, practices, and attitudes.

Tom, in discussing the alusemar with me, remarked that, 'If god talk lie, people throw away.' That is should the alusemar promise to restore a man's health and not succeed he is discarded in favor of another.

On another occasion, we were waiting for the diagnosis and prognosis of the illness Paluelimar, the third ranking chief, by Arogeligar. After it was given, Tom said to me, 'I don't know; maybe that god talk true, maybe talk lie.'

Another point worth recording at this point is the natives' refusal to assign alus causality to events that are amenable to naturalistic interpretation. (18)"

"18. Malinowski's point made long ago (Science, Magic and Religion) that magical or supernatural techniques are employed by natives only in situations which are unpredictable, and which they cannot control applies in full on Ifaluk. Only where [59] naturalistic interpretations are unknown, or where risks are great, are supernatural techniques used, at biological crises, ocean voyages, tec. The paucity of magic on Ifaluk is in part explainable, therefore, by a relatively predicitable environment, so that not even in gardening, for example, are magical techniques used."

28: Spiro--59 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776, 753, 164 Ifalik

"For example, the chiefs at one time were perplexed by the disappearance of a dish of rat poison given them by the navy, which they had set in a canoe house. I suggested that perhaps an alus had absconded with it. They all dismissed this interpretation as unlikely, and agreed with Tom that probably a dog or cat was responsible.

This brings us to the native classifications of disease, which we must describe before we can continue with our discussion of religion, since religion and medicine, as should be obvious now, are inextricable. There are three categories if illness (tamai): (1). Tamai-le-alusengau, illness caused by the alus. (2) Mesilipik or Mesen, diseases caused Mesilipik. (3) Luwegoba, diseases caused by the land."

28: Spiro--62 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
776, 768 Ifalik

"Unlike the alusemar, each house does not have its own alusengau, for the latter attack indiscriminately. However, there are cases, in which a great number of people of one household suddenly, in which case it is inferred that the deaths are caused by the alusengau of this lineage, and the people abandon the house and build a new one. Now this happened to be the case here. Paluelimar's lineage house (Vwenau) had been abandoned because of the sudden deaths of a number of its members, so that it is known that alusengau of his lineage are particularly vicious."

28: Spiro--74 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776 Ifalik

"Aside from the alusemar already described, there are special alusemar for the different economic specialities, so that the alusezenap, are the alus for the carpenters, and the alusepalu are the alus for the navigators. These alus are members of the same family and dwell in the sky, near the abode of Aluelap. Aluluei is the father of this illustrious family, and is the chief navigator in the sky, as well as the patron saint of the navigators on earth. One son, Paluelap is also a navigator, Selangli is the master canoe carpenter, Alulemas is the repairer of houses and canoes, and Faravai is the weather expert. Each of these sons is proficient only in his own specialty, and is completely dependent upon the others for assistance in theirs.

The specialists on earth turn to these alus for assistance and aid in their undertakings, and the requisite rituals are part of the instruction that the specialist imparts to the apprentice during his training period. These alus are the recipients of a token-sacrifice known as io-io. (29)"

"29. Sarfert incorrectly calls these banewan. The banewan is any gift a person gives to another, whereas the io-io is a token gift offering to the alus."

28: Spiro--74 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776 Ifalik

"There are four alusto whom io-io are offered, three of the four being offered to the specialist alus. Lugeiling is the other alus who receives a io-io. The person who brings medicine to a sick man, whether he be Arogeligar or any other person, offers a io-io of coconuts to Lugeiling, asking him at the same time to ensure the efficacy of the medicine. A short time later he offers a io-io of food, which is placed in a special dish, and later thrown away."

28: Spiro--74 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 776, 782, 335 Ifalik

"Alulumas, the patron saint of the house carpenters, receives a io-io at the completion of any construction job. He, too, receives two io-io, one of coconut and one of food. When the men drink the coconuts that are distributed after each construction work, the juice that squirts out of the nut as it is opened is accounted as a io-io, and the chief carpenter on the job asks, Alulemes that if 'I fix another one, no fall down on me. Now I finish one, I give you this coconut.'

When the men gather again for the customary feast, one or two days after the completion of the work, a portion of fish and taro is wrapped in a leaf, and placed in the ocean as a io-io to Alulemes, and the same words or words to that effect are uttered."

28: Spiro--74 [4]
116, 776, 782, 396

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"For a canoe construction it is Selang-i the patron saint of canoe carpenters, who receives the io-io. His too, is the dual offering of coconut and food. At the completion of the canoe the head carpenter places a coconut along side of the canoe, and says, 'I give you this coconut; suppose I make another canoe, (assist me so that it will be) very fine.' Again when the men gather for their feast, the head carpenter expresses the same sentiments, and discards food from his plate, as a io-io to Selang-i."

28: Spiro--74-75
116, 776, 782, 502

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Aluluei is the recipient of the io-io when an ocean voyage is undertaken. As [75] the canoe leaves the lagoon and enters the ocean two coconuts are dropped overboard for Aluluei, and the navigator says, 'Look out my canoe, no drift away; wind and rain no take off.' But also offered to him are breadfruit, taro, and a new lavalava. These, however, are only symbolic offerings, since the food is consumed when the destination is reached, and the lavalava is brought back with the canoe, to be worn.

The io-io for a canoe journey is not the only ritual performed. Before boarding a canoe for an overseas trip, one of the sailors beats the water with a coconut leaf, so that it will remain calm. Then, the captain takes a coconut, and while asking Paluelpa for a safe trip, he strikes the prow of the canoe on all sides with the coconut."

28: Spiro--87 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 854, 776 Ifalik

"After the first day at home, the infant may be placed either in the Ulol or on its bed-mat, the giagi. At night, however, it always sleeps on its mat, between its parents. This is to protect it from the alusengau, since infants are most vulnerable to their attacks. If an alus wishes to make it sick, it is protected by its parents on either side of it, so that one of them will become ill, and not the infant.

The baby, of course sleeps often during the day, and while it sleeps the members of the household make no attempt to modulate their voices, or to control the obstreperousness of the children. The children come into the house, shouting and laughing, and usually the babies sleep through it all. And even if he should wake and be fed, the women do not attempt to inhibit the shouting and playing of the children."

28: Spiro--96
116, 857, 513, 776

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The younger children have no regular sleeping habits, nor are they compelled to sleep at designated times by their parents. None are required to take afternoon naps, sleeping when they are tired, and they are not required to retire at an earlier hour than the adults. However, they cannot stay out after dark, because the parents warn them of the alus that may be abroad at night. Sleep, generally, is viewed as a completely natural phenomenon, induced by fatigue. And it is thus explained to children, if they ask."

35: Choris (Iles Radak)--20 (1817) 1822 Woleaians
116, 159, 776 Woleai

For several weeks we tried in vain to ask Kadou concerning his ideas of God. He made every effort to understand us, but of no use. Finally, one day he succeeded; his face became animated, his whole body trembled. "Ah!" he cried, "you wish to know the name of that which we can neither see nor hear." At the same time he closed his eyes and covered his ears: "Its name is Taoutoup." Asked where he lived, Kadou pointed to the sky.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Katelu where Maur's spirit lingered; there was a tiny, thatched "god house" in the Valul household area on Falalap; and an immaculate, sanded circular altar as part of the Weluar household area. We called Arueligar the "high priest" because he had the highest ecclesiastical authority on the island, officiating at the few religious ceremonies we observed. Husky, handsome Truesai was his designated successor.

Ted, both in 1948 and in 1953, devoted much time to collecting notes on religious beliefs. He felt that these beliefs were steadily weakening, that he could notice a difference in this respect between his 1948 and 1953 visits. The gods, however, were still with us in 1953; alus, spirits, who haunted certain places, governed various natural events, and interfered for good or evil in the affairs of men. Ted collected a list of nine high gods, and of dozens of lesser spirits. He found, for instance, twenty-seven different alus concerned with different matters in connection with navigation and canoe building—though these, to be sure, are basic activities, much subject to divine guidance in any maritime culture.

My impression, however, based mostly on Ted's writings, notes and comments, is that the Ifalukians were far from having an organized theology. The accounts of divine affairs that Ted got from Arueligar and from the chiefs did not always agree; and most people apparently gave little thought to such matters, leaving them to the chiefs and the specialists. The alus were present, all right, but accepted as a part of the natural order of things: the spirits that every folk find in the world around them.

The vast majority of the alus were spirits of the dead. No one died while I was on Ifaluk, but Ted and Mel Spiro observed four deaths during their 1948 stay. They have described these in their book on Ifaluk: the intense preoccupation on the part of friends and relatives with trying to save a seriously ill person by every natural or supernatural means, the nightly wailing chants, the great seriousness surrounding possible death, and the abrupt relaxation of this seriousness once death has occurred, once the alus has left the body. They ascribe this attitude to the firm belief in the continuity of the soul.

The body of the dead, however, is given ceremonial treatment: the face is painted red, a new loin-cloth or skirt is put on, and then the

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

corpse is wrapped in seemingly endless coils of rope, weighted with stones, and taken out to sea for burial. The canoe used for this then cannot be touched for four days, four being in general the magic number on Ifaluk.

The alus, the spirits of the dead, are sometimes benevolent and sometimes malevolent, apparently depending on the character of the person from whom they came. The malevolent spirits cause all sorts of trouble, including most kinds of illness. Mel Spiro, in his psychological studies of the Ifalukians, found fear of alus to be dominating both consciously and subconsciously. We had no encounters with alus, but we didn't seek any, and the attitude toward alus of the young men who worked with us seemed to be largely ritual, but we did not try to probe into their psychology.

In theory the dances, then, were designed to please the alus, both the high gods and the ordinary spirits. The elaborate ur dances which required these endless nightly rehearsals, were surely for the high gods; but all of the alus, like all of the people, must have enjoyed them. The rehearsals finally ended in the big show, which was held on July 22nd, at midday in the schoolhouse clearing.

Don and I were off taking advantage of a low tide to work on profiles of the reef when a messenger came to tell us the dance was about to start. When we got there the men had already formed into a line along the north margin of the clearing. They were all dressed up, with bows of the ivory-like unfolded coconut leaves on arms and legs, with coconut-leaf skirts over loin-cloths, with necklaces of flowers and of the greenish-ivory coconut leaves, with garlands of flowers, and surmounting all, a block of pith over the forehead, wrapped in red paper and tinfoil (from cigarette packages) and bearing a cluster of tall white feathers (perhaps from the fairy terns; but more probably and prosaically from chickens). Faces were marked with red turmeric, a streak of red along the jawline, and dabs on the cheeks and arms.

They put on a fine show. Some of the pieces were songs or chants, with an accompaniment of stamping and clapping. Others involved more complicated gesturings and posturings. In one, two men standing with outstretched arms pantomimed man-of-war birds—tilting, soaring and gliding—while the rest knelt facing each other, chanting the